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1886

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

LETTERS
OF
JOHN, LORD CUTTS
TO
COLONEL JOSEPH DUDLEY,
THEN LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT, AFTERWARDS
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.
1693—1700.





COLONEL JOSEPH DUDLEY, M. P.

AFTERWARDS GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BORN 1647. DIED 1720.

From an original portrait in possession of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

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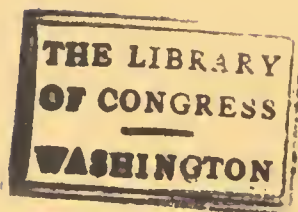
1693—1700.

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1886.



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LETTERS
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JOHN, LORD CUTTS
TO
COLONEL JOSEPH DUDLEY.

AT a monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society held at the Society's Rooms, No. 30 Tremont Street, Boston, on Thursday, Jan. 14, 1886, the President (Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., LL.D.) in the chair, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

MR. PRESIDENT, — More than twenty years ago the late President of this Society (Hon. Robert C. Winthrop) found among his family-papers a packet of letters, written between 1693 and 1700, from Lieutenant-General Lord Cutts to Colonel Joseph Dudley, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, and afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. Our late President, in running his eye hurriedly over these letters, satisfied himself that they in no way related to New England History, and laid them aside for perusal at some more convenient season, which never came. More than once, however, has he suggested to me to make an exhaustive examination of them, which I have now done, carefully collating the copies which I am about to communicate to the Society. They are thirty-two in number; and while I do not pretend that they can fairly be considered of much historical importance, yet I have found them extremely entertaining, and I believe they would have possessed no little interest for the late Lord Macaulay, who had an evident liking for the martial figure of Lord Cutts, and who styles him in his history “the bravest of the brave,” “unrivalled in that bull-dog courage which

flinches from no danger," and "so much at ease in the hottest fire of the French batteries that his soldiers gave him the honorable nickname of the Salamander."

The most diligent investigation has not enabled me to state with certainty the date of John Cutts's birth, but I imagine him to have been a somewhat younger man than his correspondent. He came of a good Essex family, inherited an estate in Cambridgeshire, adopted the profession of arms, served as aide-de-camp successively to the Dukes of Monmouth and Lorraine, distinguished himself at the taking of Buda in 1680, and still more so, ten years later, at the battle of the Boyne, where his intrepid conduct, under the eye of William of Orange, resulted in his being raised by that monarch to the Irish peerage, and in his being named, not long after, to the governorship of the Isle of Wight. This post was then by no means the sinecure it has been for more than a century past; on the contrary, the exposed situation of the island, the disturbed condition of public affairs, and the prevalence of Jacobite plots made it an office of much responsibility as well as of considerable emolument. Cutts's duties in attendance upon the King and Parliament, together with his military command in Flanders, rendered it impossible for him to be continuously in the island. It was essential that he should have on the spot a lieutenant-governor possessing his entire confidence; and he chose Joseph Dudley, who for eight years was the *alter ego* of Lord Cutts in Wight, and for several of those years the representative in Parliament of one of the island boroughs.

Dudley, as we know, was born in 1647, a younger son of Governor Thomas Dudley, of Massachusetts, and had been before in England at two earlier periods in the intervals of high civil employment in his native country; but precisely how or when or why he became so intimate with Lord Cutts it is difficult to determine. General Hugh Mackay, in his "Characters of Military Officers of his own Time," speaks of Cutts as "tall, lusty, and well-shaped, an agreeable companion, with abundance of wit, but too much vanity, affable, familiar, and brave;" in short, a lively, dashing soldier, who at first sight would seem to have had little in common with Joseph Dudley, who was originally bred to the ministry, and who preserved throughout life much of the gravity of a

professed believer in a somewhat rigorous Calvinism. But the two men were alike-ambitious, and resembled each other in a thirst for profitable public station, equalling that of their illustrious contemporary, John, Duke of Marlborough. Cutts, in these letters, is continually stimulating Dudley's zeal by promise of preferment; and it is evident that he exacted from him in return almost every variety of service. Writing to him at intervals from a dozen different places, — from Whitehall and Kensington, from Plymouth and Portsmouth, from Newport and Carisbrooke Castle, from Gravesend and Tunbridge-Wells, and from the various headquarters of the Allied Army in the Low Countries, — he deals not merely with public affairs and local politics, the island elections and the island garrisons, but he employs his Lieutenant-Governor to pay his bills, to pacify his creditors, to order his liveries, to do his marketing, and even to bottle his wine.

Now and then, as will be seen, Dudley is taken to task with a good deal of vivacity; but it is evident that he and Cutts were necessary to each other at this period, and their coolness was never of long duration. His Lordship's official correspondence is doubtless to be found on record in London, and his autograph is occasionally to be met with in private collections; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, this fragmentary series of his confidential letters is the only one of its kind in existence, and the evident sincerity of the writer gives them a marked flavor of actuality even after the lapse of nearly two centuries.

Mr. Winthrop then proceeded to read a number of extracts from the letters, which are here given in full: —

WHITEHALL, Jan: 15. 1693.

S^r — I am but just come from the Committee (and could by no means come away sooner) so that I can only desire you to be with me at eight o'clock to-morrow-morning. Necessity must be submitted to; and Vexing is best let alone where 't will doe no good. I am very much tyr'd and fear I have catch'd cold with waiting for a coach in the Pallace yard. But let it goe how it will, I am S^r

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

My Service and Excuse to Cosen Hooke.

[No date — probably 1693.]

Memorandum to Mr Dudley.

To goe or send early in the morning to Mr Goodchild, Inkeeper at the Whitehorse in the haymarket (where my horses stand), to tell him you have orders to pay him what he demands upon his bills, before the horses goe out of the stable; and that you are expecting the mony every hour. To pay fifteen pounds to Mr England, a brewer, and tell him I could not receive any more before I went; but that he shall have the rest as soon as I return. To pay forty pounds to Mr Sterton, a Cornchandler, and take up his bond. To pay ten pounds to Mr. Fisher. To come out with the coach and six horses, and my Groom; to bring one footman behind the coach, and to let the other footman ride along with the coach upon my Nephew Rivet's horse. To be at Cambridge on Wednesday, and to order your journey so as to bring the horses as fresh and unfatigued as you can. To hasten the payment of the 300^{lb}. To give notice to Captain Blood's man (at my house) what time you set out.

WHITEHALL, December 28th 1693.

S^r— I received your letter and shall take care of the contents. I desire you to come up to town as soon as you can, for the sake of your own affairs as well as mine. My hearty service to all your good company; I am S^r

Y^r humble Servant,

CUTTS.

PLYMOUTH, Jan 22: 1694.

S^r— I heartily wish you had not propos'd to Mr Blathwayt to take the 300^{lb} instead of five; you cannot imagine the Injury you have done me. Indeed you should never take upon you to decide in matters of that moment without orders. I insist upon the 500^{lb} and nothing but your offer of taking three could hinder me of it. I'm sure it will be the hardest thing in the world if I have less. I design to be at Salisbury on Sunday, at Basinstoke on Munday, at Southampton on Tuesday, &c. If you receive not the mony between this and that, meet me on Munday at Basinstoke and we'll discourse farther on it. Present my service to Coll: Withers and tell him I desire (if possible) that he would meet me at Basingstoke on Munday next; and desire the same of Coll: Hope, but desire them both not to speak of it to any one. Speak to Rouse my coachmaker and order him to finish my mourning-charriot just as the Peers have their Charriots; desire my brother Acton¹ to furnish him the Cloath; of as good as any body puts to that

¹ John Acton, Esq., of Basingstoke, married a sister of Lord Cutts.

use; and tell Rouse I would have the harness likewise done as the Peers have their harness; and all finish'd as soon as may be. Tell him I would have the fore-Glass whole. I desire you to bespeak me a mourning saddle and bridle, with holsters and hoose. Joseph will bring my sadler to you. Inform your self how the Peers have their furniture. Let Joseph set out as soon as it is done, and bring my 2 saddle-horses to Portsmouth, not suffering any one to get on their backs but himself; and let him come very gently. Desire my brother Acton to give him mony to bring him thither; but he must be there by Saturday come sennit without faile. Enquire for one Pancefort a Clothier (Brother Acton will inform you of him), he cloaths severall regiments. Receive 200^{lb} of brother Acton and pay it to this Pancefort (taking a receipt according to the enclos'd modell) and telling Pancefort from me that I design'd to have employ'd him in the cloathing of my regiment, but being sent out of Town, I'm forc'd to leave it to others; besides something that I'll tell him when I see him; and give him five Guinys as a present from me (which my Brother Acton will give you) and if he makes any complaint, soften him as much as you can, and tell him it was impossible for me to avoid it. Desire my brother Acton to meet me at Basinstoke on Munday with the Patterns of my regiment's cloaths. Tell my sister Cutts¹ I ask her excuse for not writing this post, being full of worke. My most humble service to the Speaker² (if you will doe me that favour) and give him a note of the places where I am to be, with a handsome compliment if he has any comānds for me. The Fleet bound for Jamaica sayl'd this afternoon, the wind E. N. E. I beg of you these favours, and that you will be a little exact and carefull in Pancefort's business.

I am sincerely Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. Desire brother Acton to bid Loggars goe about my servant's mourning and to bargain for the cloath.

P. S. Tell brother Acton I'll satisfie him for the cloath for the Charriot.

PORTSMOUTH, Mar.: 22. 1694.

S^r — I really love and honour you for not despairing (as the Romans once said of a brave Gen^l) of the affaires of the commonwealth. I have an Express from Petersfeild that M^r Woosely will be here in an hour, or two; and he and I both will be at Yarmouth to-morrow God

¹ Miss Joanna Cutts, his unmarried sister.

² Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls under James II., subsequently expelled from the House of Commons for corruption.

willing. I desire you to exert vigorously the King's, and mine, and your own Interest; and I hope God will bless the honest Williamite side. Send Hope a Cordiall; and give him kind, endearing, respectfull, encouraging words. I shall follow all your advice. Hasten this away with the utmost speed. I am sincerely Sr

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL. DUDLY.

P. S. Please send speedily in my name to Coll Lee, Sr John Dillington,¹ and all partys concern'd in the Island, in such terms as y^r prudence shall direct.

NEWPORT, June 23. 1694.

SR. — I desire you to help this Gentleman (Major Moncal) to the quickest passage to Portsmouth, you can. I desire my letters with all speed; & am (with my most humble service to the good Ladys) Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

For the hon^{ble} COLL. DUDLY

L^t Governor for the Isle Wight.

AT THE KING'S QUARTERS AT WANEGHEM
NEAR COURTRAY. Aug. 30. 1694.

SR. — Setting out late from the Camp near Portsmouth I arriv'd not a London 'till five o'clock on fryday morning. I could have arrived sooner, but knowing y^t I could not see her Majesty² the same night if I arrived late, I thought it better to repose myself upon the road and arrive early the next morning. On Saturday morning I took post for Harwitch: on Munday in the afternoon I set sayl, and on Tuesday I landed at Helvoet-Sluis in Holland. I took post immediately (having her Majesty's letters to the King³) and I arriv'd in the Camp severall hours before the Post. His Majesty receiv'd me very kindly; and every body beleives I am like to succeed in my pretentions. I have as yet no station allotted me in the line of battle; and so for the present I am in the Court-Quarters, and wait upon the King's Person. Pray tell M^r Cole and Partners that I doe not forget their mony-affairs. I had finish'd it before I left London, but that I came away Express immediately upon my arrivall here, but it shall be dispatch'd with all possible speed. Pray acquaint Collonell Gipson of my coming away Express; and that I shall not fail to dispatch those affaires concerning our Camp at Portsmouth with all possible speed. This with

¹ Sir John Dillington, 4th baronet, of Knighton in Wight.

² Mary of Orange.

³ William III.

my humble service to him. Desire he will please to write to Court to have our sick men in the Country supply'd with subsistence; if he pleases to use my name in it, he may. Make a discreet and modest use of what I write to you concerning myself. I am Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

FROM HIS MAJESTY'S CAMP AT ROUSSLAR,
Sept: $\frac{14}{24}$ 1694.

S^r. — I send you here enclos'd a Deputation to discharge for me (in my absence) the Office of Mayor of Newtown; with a clause in it to recommend you to be elected Mayor for the ensuing year; I need say no more, but only desire you to prepare and order things so, that it may have its desir'd effect. I send you at the same time (enclos'd) a letter to the Corporation of Yarmouth; w^{ch} when you have read it, you will seal and deliver; but pray be present at the opening of it, and (as I said before) prepare and order things so, that it may succeed. Let the Corporations have Vennison, as is usuall; and remember, that when you Swear the Mayor of Newport at Carisbrooke Castle, you are to give him no treat, any farther than a Glass of Wine; and that only if you please; and not let them be carry'd any where but straight into the chappell before prayers. I recommend these and all other things to your care; hoping to be soon with you. I dare venture telling a discreet man y^t I don't much doubt of succeeding in my pretentions, which will put me in a fair way. Be assur'd I don't forget you, but will effectually take care of you; being Sr,

Your affectionate humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. We expect every hour an account of the taking of Huy, the Fort Piccar being allready taken by storm. I never saw so flaming, and healthfull an Army at this time of year. For ordinary news see the publick letters.

FROM HIS MAJESTY'S CAMP AT ROUSSLAR
IN FLANDERS, Sept: $\frac{14}{24}$. 1694.

Mr Mayor, and you Gentlemen of the Corporation of Yarmouth:

I think it for the good of their Majesty's service and the Corporation, y^t the present Mayor be continued another year. And therefore I desire you to order it so, that he may be continued accordingly. I doubt not of your compliance in this, since I am so much inclin'd (tho' hitherto my great hurrys have hindred me giving you such markes of it as I will soon do) to show myself in all occasions

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

CUTTS.

Whereas I was elected by the Corporation of Newtown to serve as Mayor of the same for this present year; and whereas their Majesty's service necessitates my attendance in Flanders with their Majesty's forces now there; I doe by these presents depute the hon^{ble} Collonell Dudley, L^t Governor of their Majesty's Isle of Wight, to execute the office of Mayor of the said corporation in my absence. And I doe by these presents reco^mend the said Collonell Dudley to be Mayor of the said Corporation for the Ensuing Year. Given at his Majesty's Camp at Rousslar in Flanders Sept: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{5}{5}$. 1694.

CUTTS.

Deputation to COLLONELL DUDLY &c.

WHITEHALL, Nov: 15. 1694.

S^r — I had answer'd all your letters sooner, but that we have been coming over this month, and I thought every day to be with you. The sessions being so immediately begun (upon our arrivall) it was impossible for me, with regard to the King's affayres here, any ways to come down. I shall send down one on Munday to releive you, and refer all to our meeting; and I think it by no means safe for the service that you come away before I send one. You may read the enclosed, then seal it and give it coll: Urry as if you knew nothing of the matter. By the person that comes to releive you, I shall write more at large. My affaires (thanks to God) prosper very much. I am S^r,

Your humble serv^{nt},

CUTTS.

WHITEHALL, Jan: 4th 1695.

SR — I have receiv'd yours by Captain Rivet, and am glad every thing is in so good Order. You write me word something of a share you shall have a right to; which I don't very well understand. I allways understood that you had acted in the Isle of Wight only as my Deputy, that what you did by Vertue of the Power you have from me, was as much (& solely) my act and deed as if I (only) had done it; for that without that Power you could not be in a Capacity to doe it. I speak not this that I have the least thoughts of being unkind, or ungenerous; but indeed I allways expected that you would have left the whole matter to me. For, as to the King's Co^mission, you know how you came by it; and you know what promise you made (upon your word and honour) when I gave it you. I beleive you an honest man, and will not imagine, that we shall disagree in anything. And indeed, after my having disoblig'd so many people in your Defence & favour, it would be unhappy if you and I should fall out. You may leave the Island on Weddensday, or as soon after the receipt of this as you please. I am sincerly, S^r, your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLY.

[Fragment of a letter endorsed by Dudley "April 2^d 1695." The earlier portion is missing.]

which I forget. I hope this will confirm all Persons in their inclinations to sign the association. I beg of you to make as much of it as possibly you can. It is the best peice of service you can doe the King, me, & your self. I hope you have taken care to have it handsomely engross'd. Don't omit one living soul; and be sure to keep a list of the names of all who refuse it. I think it will be proper for you to come up with it, and it would be well if you could set out on Monday; and I wish (upon so very great an Occasion) two or three people of credit would come with you. If you bring a jolly number of hands, you'l doe your self and me a great kindness, but force nobody against their inclination. The Yarmouth Association is given; it was not read, and the King said nothing to it. It will not signify much if ours succeeds. For if those who have sign'd that, refuse mine, it will not doe 'em a kindness here; and all the world will know how Yarmouth is managed. I am S^r,

Your very humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. I have made some steps in your affaire,¹ & wish you were here for five or six days.

KENSINGTON, May 11. 1695.

SR, — I have been coming every day for the Island; but am prevented by a very extraordinary affaire. The King had sign'd a Commission for Captain Pitman to be Governor of Hurst-Castle; upon which the Marquis of Winchester, supported by severall of the Ministers, represented it to the King as a thing that would be a very great hardship upon my Lord Duke his Father,² and would disoblige all the Hampshire-Gentlemen, that Castle being in Hampshire, and not in the Isle of Wight. The King, upon this, order'd the Duke of Shrewsbury³ that the Commission should lye in the Office, 'till he had discours'd farther with me upon it. I have discours'd with his Majesty upon it since; and so have the other side; and it remains yet in suspence, no affirmative, or negative, being put upon it. The last thing, the King said to me concerning it was that he could not presently resolve himself, but would be put in mind of it again. When I give you this

¹ The "affaire" in question was undoubtedly the Governorship of Massachusetts. Narcissus Luttrell, in his diary of March, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$, says: "Coll. Dudley stands fairest to succeed Sir William Phips."

² Charles Paulet, 1st Duke of Bolton, an eccentric personage, whose son succeeded Cutts as Governor of Wight.

³ Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, then Secretary of State, and one of the purest statesmen of his time.

account, you are sensible that I cannot come down 'till it is decided one way or other; nor can I say when I shall come down till the hour before I take horse; because it depends upon the King's saying yes or no. I would have you make this use of what I write you, as to let every body know that I am every hour coming out of Town; but that my departure depends upon the finishing some matters (necessary to be dispatch'd before I come away) and which depend upon the King, & not myself. If they have got any thing of the Story by the End, set them right; but don't you say any thing (but in genⁿ terms) unless they begin. You and I must be very discreet, for our Enemy's have spys upon what we say. But don't loose heart; and all will goe well at last. I suppose by this time the Dragoons are come. I would have them Quarter'd at West-Cows. You may give the Officer leave to turn his horses to Grass (I mean his Dragoons horses) with such of the Country People near the Quarters, as he can agree with; keeping allways eight in the stable, in case of alarm; which may be releiv'd every week or fortnight, as the Officer will. When you have two whole Companys, let One be at Newport; with orders to give constant Guard to Carisbrooke. Pray make much of all our freinds, especially my Newport Freinds; speak kindly and heartily to 'em. Present my service to M^r Shergole; and tell him, I'll write to him by next post about M^r Loving. Let the Wine-Cooper at Yarmouth kno' too, that he shall have his Warrant by next Post. Orders are gone to Portsmouth from the Office of Ordinance to supply your stores; pray send over to enquire for 'em speedily, and by some carefull Person. I desire to hear from you, and am sincerely, Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLY.

P. S. I would not have the Dragoons doe any Guards; and I would not have you order any of them to attend you, for reasons.

ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S YATCH THE MARY,
NEAR GRAVESEND. May the 31. 1695.

SR, — I had wrote to you sooner, but that I have been transacting something, relating to our Isle of Wight affaires (of which this brings you an account) of which I could come to no certainty till now. But before I enter upon that, I will say something relating to Newtown. It was necessary (and not thought so without the advice of better Persons than my Self) to agree to certain Articles, whereof I send you here enclos'd a Copy. Accordingly they were agreed to, and confirm'd upon honour; so that I have nothing to add, but positively to direct and require you, that the same be most religiously observ'd and executed.

This being my Positive Orders to you, you will I'm sure make no delay or chicane in the same. Having settled that matter, I am to let you know something of what I have done in other matters. S^r William Trumbold¹ (whom, with a great deal of Pains we have got to be Secretary of State) is a very honest man, is intirely my freind (and will be cordially your Patron), I design' to set him up for Newport (but would not have him nam'd as yet) with my self; intending afterwards to be chosen myself elsewhere and slip in a freind in my room. At Newtown I shall set up the rich (ingenious) M^r Henly,² and some country Gentleman of Figure with him; and at Yarmouth M^r Woosely³ and the rich Alderman Duncomb;⁴ who is sworn fast to us (under God and the King) against all Majors whatsoever. S^r William Trumbold, and the best part of the Ministry, are acquainted with this sceme; and I doubt not but it will be supported. You must not name people as yet (not 'till you have my orders for it) but only say, that I shall set up men without Exceptions, without so much as the pretence of Exceptions against them; that we shall have country Gentleman with us (and some to stand) of very great figure and Estate; that I shall recommend no souldier; and such like Generall things. And here I cannot but wave my particular business, to tell you (by way of Cordiall to you) that I have very sanguine hopes that this winter will produce something which will be very acceptable to you and I. I have really very Good Grounds for this; tho' it is not a thing fit to be trusted to Paper. *Verbum sapienti.* Direct all my Pacquets to S^r William Trumbold (who is my fast and intirely beloved freind) who has taken down your name in his minutes; has promis'd to take care of any business you write about, and expects constant accounts from you of such things as deserve the notice of One in his Office. You will be sure to make a modest use of this; never to be tedious, much less light or trifling; nor to trouble him but upon serious business & in a modest way. He is a good man, and will doe you and I all the Good he can. I have had long conferences with him, and he is exactly upon our bottom. Sydford's com̃ission will be sent down by brother Acton. In the mean time order him (by vertue of the Power I here give you) to act as

¹ Sir William Trumbull, of East Hampstead Park in Berkshire, who married Lady Judith Alexander, daughter of the 4th Earl of Stirling, and had served as Ambassador at Paris and Constantinople. Burnet styles him "a learned, diligent, and virtuous man."

² Anthony Henley, M. P., alike well-known as a politician, man of letters, and patron of the drama. His son Robert became Lord Chancellor and Earl of Northington.

³ So spelled, but probably Henry Worsley, brother of Sir Robert; subsequently Envoy to Portugal and Governor of Barbadoes.

⁴ Afterwards Sir Charles Duncombe, Lord Mayor of London, whose nephew became Lord Feversham.

Gunner & receive pay. How's Order is sent here enclos'd, and shall be fuller by the return of these yatchs. Your mony cannot come but by the return of these yatchs, for reasons you shall then know. Say only that you expect it soon. We are under sayl; My Lord Rivers¹ in the Henrietta yatch; some of the Bone of Eng^d in the Will and Mary; and I'm in the Mary; with a considerable number of Officers attending us. Dear S^r, keep up your Heart, & use y^r head, and be assur'd I'll study your service. Write me a particular account of the receipt of this. Compliments to whom you please; as if nam'd.

I am sincerely, S^r,

Your faithfull humble servant,

COLL: DUDLY.

CUTTS.

Postscript to Coll: Dudley, May 31. 1695.

SR, — I send you here enclos'd a Gen^l Warrant to Bowler to obey your Warrants, not exceeding two hundred Pounds; which I would have you make use on, as follows. Fifty Pounds to the poor of the Town of Newport; five and twenty of the said fifty to be paid out of the mony now in his hands, and the remaining five and twenty out of the Michaelmas-rent next ensuing. The rest I would have employ'd, to pay such bills as I owe in the Island, and especially the In-Keeper at Newport where my Horses stood. I desire you'll give Bowler good Words, & try to make him advance something (to the use of these payments) upon the Michaelmas-rent. As to the Souldier's place vacant, I would not (for twice forty pounds) that any body should take any mony for it; because I know the King's mind so fully upon those matters. But you may put one in, for this summer, with this proviso (as from your self) that, if I have any One to put in at my return, he must resign. Pray send me an account what companys & Officers you have. That there is a constant Guard at Carisbrooke, Cows, & Yarmouth. Pray don't let Yarmouth-Bridge fall, since a little matter will save it. You shall find (take my word and honour for it) that your pains is not lost in serving me. The Lords of the Admiralty have been so kind as to order me One of the King's best yatchs; & the cabbin I am now sitting in is finer & richlyer furnish'd than any room in the Isle of Wight. Dear Dudley, God prosper us, and our Master. Adieu.

CUTTS.

Postscript to Coll. Dudley, May 31, 1695.

I send you enclos'd a Deputation for the Mayoralty of Newtown. If it wants any part of the formality of Law; yet being in this Juncture all of a Mind, you may make it pass. You must write to Holmes,

¹ Richard Savage, 4th Earl Rivers of the second creation, a soldier and diplomatist, Master-General of the Ordnance.

& consult him about it, before you call the Hall. I desire you to make Hales easy in this matter, and give him what assurances you please of my future kindness; for I really mean it & intend it. You may tell him (as a dead secret) I have layd a Scheme that will, in a little time, by Gods help blow up all our Enimys. And all I doe now, is but to cast a mist before their Eyes. I would have you exert your utmost interest, & mine, to have S^r Robert Worsely¹ chosen a capitall Burgess of Newtown. Doe it, formally, as my careless compliment to his figure & Quality; but I mean it (intentionally) to a particular aim, which in due time will produce a good effect. Carry it very civilly to him & (between you and I) I have assurances that in due time he'll be ours. You must not let the Enimy suspect this of him; for they don't dream it; nor must you let him suspect you know it. But I would very faine have him Burgess. I desire you will send the enclos'd to Major Holmes by an Express forthwith; you may send your own message with it. Once more adieu, and depend upon me for your sincere freind and humble servant,

CUTTS.

WHITEHALL, Jan: 23^d 1696.

SR — By the next you shall not fail to have an answer to every Article in each of your letters, which I have this day revis'd; tho' I havn't time now to answer them, by reason of y^e multiplicity of business which I have at this time (actually) upon me. Now my Lord Galloway² is nam'd by the King for the 3^d Lord Justice in Ireland, I hope our Isle of Wight freinds will let me stay here. I am, in hast,

S^r, yours &c,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON, May the 12th 1696.

SR,—I send you here enclos'd the Noli prosequi. Pray enquire about it, if it is to be produc'd in Court; if any Plea to be made upon it, &c. And particularly learn if any thing may be done by them this morning by way of praecluding us. For (with all M^r D—s fine complements of faireness —) *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Pray have an Eye to this with the greatest care & speed, not loosing a minute. Pay the Porter, & I'll repay you; as allso any necessary ffee. At my house at four.

I am, S^r, your humble servant,

CUTTS.

¹ Sir Robert Worsley, 4th Baronet of Appuldercombe, then perhaps the largest landed proprietor in the island.

² James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway, a prominent personage of this and the succeeding reign.

FROM PRINCE VAUDEMONT'S CAMP NEAR BRIDGES,
Sept 20th N. S. 1696.

SR, — I am infinitely delighted at your Success in the affaire of Newtown; and your likelihood of success at Yarmouth. If you can carry the point of those two Corporations, I'll improve it so much to your advantage to the King and every body else (and I promise you to doe it), that it shall be the best Card that ever you play'd. Whatever Expences you are at (publick or private) as far as 200^{lb} goes, I'll willingly repay you immediately at my return. This will be a matter of greater moment than you imagine, and you'll have a large share in the advantage of it. I wonder how Captain Phillips comes to be cow'd by S^r R. Worsely. I beg of you to talk with him; and if good words, promises, or mony will doe, secure him; & pray don't omit this a moment. And let all things be done with Calmness & Gravity. Some matters of the greatest moment (with regard to the Publick, as well as my own affaires) make it impossible for me to come over before the King comes; and Major Morgan slip'd away of a Suddain before I knew any thing of it. How happy it will be (just upon the conclusion of the War) to have our matters settled in the Isle of Wight. I beg of you to employ your whole head, and heart and hands in it. And we will (with God's leave) meet with more Joy than ever; and I will improve it essentially to your advantage. My Compliments to all as if nam'd. I am sincerely, S^r, Your faithfull humble servant,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON, Oct: 20th 1696.

S^r, — I wrote you word in my last that when the Battle of Yarmouth was over you might come up to Town; but I mean't that of Newtown; that is to say your Election of a Mayor there. M^r Morgan will be sufficiently mortify'd for his rampant carriage at Yarmouth. We have done a very good day's worke in the house of Commons to-day, of which I doubt not but our members give you an account. I have so much business and Company at my first coming over, that (my Secretary not being yet arriv'd from fflanders) I cannot undertake to send any news. Holmes waits only for the return of his letter to you; and he comes away to you. You shall be a Witness your self, that I'll set all that you doe in a good Light; and (if you are successfull in Newtown) I doubt not but to graft something upon it that you'll be pleas'd at. Compliments to all as if nam'd. I am, S^r,

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL. DUDLY.

P. S. Pray bottle out and send up the Spanish wine as soon as may be, directed for me at my house at Whitehall.

WHITEHALL, Christmas-Eve.
(25th Decm^r 96.)

S^r, — Your Express had return'd to you sooner, but that I was willing to goe to the bottom of the matter first. I have retain'd the best concell of Doctor's Comons, & advis'd with some of the ablest Lawyers in England; and upon their advice, my directions to you (and my Orders) are positively to keep the possession of the Goods; and not to part with any thing, without my Order under my hand. I receiv'd yesterday one of yours dated Cows, Dec: 21, which I can make nothing of; 'tis of so different a style and temper from your others. You make abundance of repetitions of your good wishes and kindness to my Lord Marquiss's servants, and say some other things (w^{ch} I won't repeat here) which are inconsistent with your other Letters. I can't have so unjust a thought of you, as to imagine you will vary a tittle (directly or indirectly) from what you have allways pretended. Keep the things in your Possession, and let them be taken care of; there shall be no neglect on my side. I am, S^r, Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

FROM THE ENGLISH CAMP AT CORKLEBERG COMMANDED
BY PRINCE VAUDEMONT, Aug: the 12th N. S. 1697.

SR, — I have receiv'd yours of the 19th of July, for which I give you my hearty thanks. What you write of Morris surprizes me to a degree beyond Expression; and I can't but own to you (between you and I) that I'm glad the War is at an end; that I may have leisure to deal with him and some other Persons at home, that use me ill. For I can now write you word (tho' no Wise man will take upon him to answer for the certainty of any Humane Affaires, till they are done) no Man doubts but that the Peace will very soon be concluded, all matters being now fully adjusted between England, France, and Holland; Spain being well inclin'd, and only the Emporour (I mean of any considerable Power) that makes any difficultys. And tho' measures are kept with him, and an Exteriour Defference is due to an Ally of his Rank; yet 'tis thought he must comply, since England and Holland have resolv'd; and the Houses of Brandenbourg, Hanover, Hesse, Zell, &c. are inviolably fast with England and Holland. So that there is no manner of doubt, humanely speaking, but that the Peace will very soon be concluded; the ffrench having given but six weeks to the Allys to take their final resolutions. And so, if God blesses me with life, I shall certainly make my next Campagne in the Isle of Wight. And I mention all this only as an Introduction to what I'm going to say: that, when I can spend a summer in the Isle of Wight, 't will make a great Alteration both as to Persons and Things; besides that, I doubt not of being Vice-Admirall of Hamshire before I see you, and I hope to see

you before the Election of Mayors in the Island. But as to this of my being in the Island so soon, pray let it be a dead secret from all Mankind, till I write to you more certainly upon it, and of my being Vice-Admiral you may talk as of a common discourse, and a thing likely. And, since I am upon the subject of my designs in the Island, I'll tell you an other part of them. I shall order it so as to place a Commander at Sandham-Fort, and another at Yarmouth, who will serve without pay (only for the honour of the Command and the Pleasure of Passing the summer there) and One also at Cows, if I can get something for you that will more then recompense to you the Profit of that Castle; and all these Officers shall not be less than Lt-Collonells, such as will keep their Coaches, and spend their monys there during the whole Summer, Men of Courage, Figure, and Merit.

These Officers (all serving without Pay) shall be Commanders in cheif and, by the Courtesy of the Island, will be call'd Governours of their respective Garrisons, and so will have their respective Commanders under them, who will receive pay; and all these Gentlemen (besides that they shall meet you at your club once a Week) will in the Island in Generall, and in their respective Stations, a little Counterballance the dead weight of the factious Country Gentlemen; for, besides their Courage, Conduct, and Authority; they'll spend every One 2 or 300^{lb} in the Island (more or less) every summer. And so many Officers of Distinction begin (now the Peace is certain) to ask this of me; that, engaging to none, I shall be able to chuse Persons so intirely my own. that they shall not only be easy under me, but under you in my absence, One who has offer'd his service, has promis'd me all-ready that, if I'll make him cheif Commander of Sandham-Fort, he'll not only serve without pay, but he'll lay out 3 or 400^l. to fit himself up an Apartement in the Castle, being a marry'd man. And all this will make you, as well as me, make quite a different Figure in the Island. And (to close all) I here promise you, and I dare venture to say, upon the finishing the War, I'm sure I shall have it in my Power: I here promise you, serve but the King, & me, effectually in this present storm, and I'll be instrumentall to put you in such circumstances as you shall have reason to be more than easy in. I mean doe effectual service in the matter of the Corporations; and the matter of my personall concerns, as to Complaints, and every thing els. You may begin with remembring me to the respective Corporations, and telling them from me that the Peace is now in a manner concluded, and that this Campaigne will (in all humane Appearance) be the last Campaigne of this so long and bloody War; in which the King has lost so many Subjects, the Nation so many Inhabitants, and we (who have serv'd, and are living) many of us, so much blood. And I hope, I shall now be able to spend a great part of my time with them, and to see every thing settled

in the Island to every One's satisfaction, for which I shall use my utmost endeavour. You may tell them the very great Expence I have constantly been at, in sending an Equipage every year into this Country; and living at very great Expences here (of which whole burthen I shall now be intirely eas'd); these Difficultys, and at a time when the King has not been able to pay me the quarter of what's due to me; these Difficulty's, I say, have put me under great disadvantages; but that I shall now have my hands more at liberty, not only to pay offe all Debts contracted in the Island vpon my Score, but to doe such acts of Generosity and Charity (both in Publick & private Occasions) as becomes a Man of Honour, and a Man of Conscience. Thus much you may tell them from me, which you ought to doe with as much solemnity and gravity as the thing will well bear. You may begin with the Corporation of Newport, sending them word that you have receiv'd a Packet from me with very considerable news in it, and that you desire to drink a Glass of Wine with them, to communicate it to them; where you may tell them what I have wrote you of Holland, Spain, the Emperour, &c. But tell them my Message first intire &, sometime after, tell them particulars by way of discourse, as part of what I have wrote you in particular. You may introduce my Message to them by telling them that the Peace being so very near at hand, as in Appearance it is, I thought they would not dislike hearing an account of it from me, and tho' it will be not yet concluded; yet 'tis so near it, that there is no manner of Doubt of it, &c. As for Yarmouth and Newtown, you may send for their respective Mayors, or such of their cheif Burgesses as you think fit, or you may frame some business to assemble them, or send for them, or such of them as you please, and tell them the news in a more careless manner & with less ceremony than to those at Newport. As, for Instance, I would have it told to those of Yarmouth and Newtown as if you met them upon some other Occasion and told them this by chance without any compliment; but to those of Newport I would have you speak, as meeting them on purpose to remember me to them & tell them that good news. But as for Yarmouth and Newtown use intirely your own Discretion.

[The last sheet of this letter is missing.]

KENSINGTON, Nov: 9th 1697.

SR, — I receiv'd by your last an account of your rejoycing with our freinds, which I am very well satisfy'd with; and as to what you say of repeating it again upon the news of his Majesty's arrivall, something will be fit to be done, but (I think) an exact repetition of the same is not necessary. And therefore (if you please) observe the following Directions. Upon receipt of this (by Expresses immediately), give order that the respective Garrisons of the Island have their Guns in a

readiness of a minute's Warning, with their matches lighted (their Guns being all loaded) and a Gunner in close waiting, to fire that minute that you receive an Express of the King's being landed, which I shall not fail to forward to you with Dilligence as soon as it comes to Whitehall. And when you send these Orders circularly, let them know you are to have an Express from me of the King's landing; and that 't is my Order that all the Garrisons doe instantly (without a moment's delay) tell the joyfull news aloud to the Country. And let it be insensibly made known (upon your receipt of this) that you expect every hour an Express, & y^t, upon y^e arrivall of it, the Garrisons will answer One another round the Island (order Hurst to answer Yarmouth) to make known the King's landing. Drink a Glass of Wine wth the Corporation at Night (but no firing after this upon any account), let something be done at Cows and Yarmouth; and illuminations every where. Let the yatch be at Southampton. Expect my Express hourly.

Yours,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON (Sunday), Nov : 14th 1697.

SR, — The Duke of Shrewsbury (who lodges next door to me in this Square) sent a Gentleman to me about two hours ago, to acquaint me that this day about ten o'clock his Majesty landed safe at Margate; that he will lye this Night at Canterbury; to-morrow-night at Greenwich; and on Tuesday make his Entry through the City. The Duke's letter (by the Express) was very short; and so I can write you no news. I hope you have receiv'd mine, in which I order'd you to have all the Guns at every Garrison in the Island, and at Hurst, ready loaded; and a Gunner waiting at every post, ready to fire at a moment's warning, & to make the Garrisons take it from One another, and fire in a round to proclaim the arrivall of the greatest Monarch on Earth. Upon receipt of this loose not a moment's time, but (tho' you are at Cows) let Carisbrook-Castle begin. You will doe well to goe to Newport; but publish not the news till the Guns have fir'd. Depend upon 't, I'l serve you. I am Your humble servant,

CUTTS.¹

KENSINGTON. Apr : 1. 1698.

SR, — I won't complain of your unkind behavior to me, that is not the matter now in dispute; tho' in a week (all things consider'd) some

¹ In connection with the two foregoing letters it is not inappropriate to quote four lines from some verses congratulatory of King William's return to England after the Peace of Ryswick, and attributed to Charles Hopkins: —

“ The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings,
The true, best servant of the best of kings :
Cutts, whose known worth no herald needs proclaim ;
His wounds, and his own worth, can speak his fame.”

men would have shown some concern for One's health and affaires; but I don't insist upon it, your Personal Civilitys are most certainly your own, & dispose on 'em how you please; provided you trouble me no more if Fortune should chance to smile on me, than you doe now She seems at least to do otherwise. But this (as I sayd before) is not the matter now in dispute. That which I have just reason to complain of is your reall neglect of the King's service in your station. For if I neither see nor hear of a Lieut-Governour in a Week, I would fain know (when so many things are to be consider'd now the Spring comes on) what you are payd for. You have the 4^s per diem which I give you gratis, w^{ch} no other Governour ever had (I mean y^e Captain of Cows, w^{ch} Captain allways took some notice of me) & you have 2^s per diem out of my own pocket; both which you know I can stop when I please; & really I can employ 'em better if you treat y^r Employment so remissly. Thus much as y^r fellow servant I could not in duty omit. I have sent you the letter you desire. I would not have you think from this letter that I would constrain you to spend so much as an Ev'ning here from Company you like better; but wⁿ you come to the King's Levee (w^{ch} you should doe if ever yⁿ expect any thing) you can make y^r reports, & take my Orders as you goe up. I have very good Neibours now & want no Company.

I am, S^r, Your humble servant, CUTTS.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE, Sept: 2nd 1698.

SR, — Some business is fallen out, which makes me I cannot come to Cows to-day; pray make my Compliment to S^r William Oglander¹ whom I told I would come. My Hounds lye at M^r Stevens's to-night; they will unharbour the Stag between 4 & 5; but (for fear of my ague) I dare not goe out so soon. But I design to be upon Wotton-common by six o'clock, and I'll take a snap with you (for I shall not venture out the whole hunt; tho' this to y^r self only) at two o'clock at Cows; and visit the Ladys after dinner. If S^r Harry Pickering² lands at Cows to-night (for whom pray look out sharp) give him 3 Guns & no more. Tell him, we are forbid giving any Guns.

[The rest of this letter is missing.]

CARISBROOKE CASTLE, Sept: 16th 1698.

SR, — I desire (if possible) y^t you would, by this bearer, send me some prawns (because I have some Roman-Catholicks to dine with me to-day, that come out of the main land) and, if you can, any other fish. And let the Messenger be back by ten o'clock. I am

Your humble servant, CUTTS.

¹ Sir William Oglander, 3d Baronet of Nunwell, head of one of the oldest families in the island.

² Sir Henry Pickering was father of the second wife of Lord Cutts.

LONDON, Oct : 29th 1698.

SR, — Your letters, either by the Negligence or willfull mistake of our Cambridge-shire Postmasters, were very long coming to my hands; and that obliges me to send this by Expresse, which brings you enclos'd a Deputation to be in the Chair at Newtown for the Election of a new Mayor, in which I'll give you no other Instructions, than to try to choose a man as well affected to me & my Interests as you can. I am but this minute alighted out of my coach from S^r Harry Pickering's and am sitting down to dinner at M^r Row's, one of the clerks of the Green-cloath; and therefore cannot answer the rest of the contents of your Respective letters 'till Tuesday's post; by which you shall have answers to every particular. My service to S^r R. Worseley and my particular freinds. I am,

S^r, Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLEY.

KENSINGTON, Dec : 3^d 1698.

SR, — I have receiv'd your last, for which I thank you. I believe it will be requisite for you, for the cherishing of your own Interest, to show your self to the King at his Arrivall. I hint it to you, & if you have a mind to come up, I'll think of one to releive you; but write to me first. Send me word what How would have & I'll answer his Petition; but don't let him play the fool.

I am, S^r, Your humble servant

CUTTS.

C. D.

P. S. There must by no means be a Gallon of Wine brought into Carisbrooke Castle. I keep that only for my own Residence and convenience; & therefore as this is my positive Order to you, S^r, so pray give it to Major Collins. Wreck-Wines must be lodg'd at Cows or Yarmouth. Major Collins must not let the Castle of Carisbrooke be search'd; but give very civill answers, and say he *dare* not doe it without my Orders, but that he will write to me.

KENSINGTON, May the 16th 1699.

SR, — I am oblig'd to you for your repeated concern to know how my principall Affaire goes; which (I thank God) is in a very good Posture. On Saturday last I din'd with the King at Hampton-Court and had the good fortune to walk with him in the Wilderness after dinner and tell him my business at large; to all which he gave a very obliging, positive, and determinative answer; and, if his affaires are not in such a Posture, as that he can doe at present what he would, he will (at least) doe that w^{ch} will be honourable and make me easy. My Lord

Arbemarle¹ has espous'd my Interests with great seeming zeal, & publicly professes great Respect and Kindness for me; upon which Commentatours are various, but y^t to you only. My Lord Orford² is out of all his Employments; which has disgusted some of his Creatures. Many changes are soon expected, but none yet certain, except that Lord Pembroke³ and Lord Lonsdale⁴ (& another freind of mine) doe certainly come into business. Pray send me up a list of what Officers you think proper to fill up the Militia. As soon as ever my own Life is safe, I'll endeavour to save your's. I shall soon have the Vice-Admiralty now. I am, S^r,

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. What have you done with the fellow, y^t pretended to buy the ship?

TUNBRIDGE-WELLS, Aug: 7th 1699.

SR, — I can't tell how it happens, but I have receiv'd five of your letters all at once; to prevent which for the future, Direct — *for me at Tunbridge-wells by way of London* — without sending them to any particular Person or Place at London. The Waters have (by the blessing of God) wrought such a miraculous change upon me, as well in my looks as in my state of body, that I am given as an Instance every day of their Virtue and Efficacy; and I'm advised by the Doctors by all means to stay out this month, so that I shall not see the Island 'till something later than I came there last year. I'm sorry it will be so late before I can come, tho', as the King's Governour is us'd there, one has very little Encouragement to be amongst them any more than one's Business requires, I mean my Master's service. Coll. Holmes's Usage in the business of the Hunted-Deer has so much Ill-manners in it, and Indignity to the Government, that I know not what to say to 't, only in Generall, that 'tis in vain to think of obliging some People. I am resolv'd to doe nothing that the Laws of England will not make good, and therefore, as to the business of hunting the Deer, it being out of the Limits of the Forrest, I presume we cannot have any process upon it, but we may show some tacite dislike of what we cannot help; and therefore, I hope you did (by no means) goe to the eating of the

¹ Arnold Van Keppel, 1st Earl of Albemarle of that creation, the especial favorite and flatterer of William III.

² Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, an eminent naval commander, stigmatized by Macaulay as "insolent, malignant, greedy, faithless."

³ Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England, styled by Bishop Burnet "a man of eminent virtue and profound learning."

⁴ John Lowther, 1st Viscount Lonsdale, one of the great landed proprietors whose adhesion to William of Orange was fatal to James II.

Venison, or in any measure partake of it; that indeed would lessen both the King's Authority and the Credit of his Governour. Nay, I think you ought to receive what is sayd to you upon it with Coldness & some seeming Dislike, & by letting fall such Expressions, both to them and others, on all fitting Occasions, as may show a just Resentment on my behalf, without coming to a Rupture openly. I doe approve of your conduct in the business of the Dragoons; I wish I had had your letter sooner, but I have wrote (now) to some of the Ministers about it. I dare not write more with my Waters at present. Pray give my keeper a rebuke for going with those Gentlemen (when they us'd me so) and for taking a Fee upon such an account. Tell him, I don't mean that I would have had him use any force, being out of the Forrest Bounds, but he should not have waited on them, or had any thing to doe with them, when they refus'd him the Deer. I'l write to you, God willing, twice a week henceforwards. I am,

S^r, your humble servant,

CUTTS.

St JAMES'S, May 14th 1700.¹

S^r,—I desire you to assist M^{rs} Hampton with present necessaries (w^{ch} Morris is order'd by this to repay you out of Parke-farm Rents); pray doe this a little promptly, and it shall be made up in your affaires here.

Our Grand affayres are yet undecided, we are in great expectation. I am not idle in y^r affaire. Be as zealous for,

S^r, your humble servant,

For his Majesty's service.

CUTTS.

To the hon^{ble} COLL: DUDLEY, L^t-Governour
of the Isle of Wight.

FREE, CUTTS.

A number of letters are undoubtedly missing from this correspondence, which here ends abruptly. In the following year the close intimacy between Cutts and Dudley substantially ceased, his Lordship going to Holland as second in command to Marlborough, and his subordinate vacating his post in Wight with the promise of the governorship of Massachusetts, though the King's death delayed his commission. It was about this time that Richard Steele, then Cutts's private secretary, dedicated to him his "Christian Hero"; and it was about this time that Jonathan Swift, prompted by Tory pamphleteers to

¹ This last letter was not found among the Winthrop Papers, but is copied by permission, from the rich collection of autographs of our associate, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain.

whom the robust Whiggery of Cutts was especially obnoxious, made him the subject of a scurrilous lampoon, styling him, among other things, "the vainest old fool alive." Whatever his vanity may have been, he was staunch in his devotion to the revolutionary principles of 1688, and the untimely death of William III. was ultimately fatal to his prospects. The outbreak of another great continental war in 1702 afforded him fresh opportunities for the display of brilliant personal heroism; and at a dozen different places, and more particularly at Blenheim, he covered himself with glory. But Queen Anne's secret liking for her half-brother, the Pretender, and increasing preference for Tory statesmen and Tory generals, resulted in his transfer, early in 1705, to the command in Ireland, — a nominal distinction, but an exchange peculiarly galling to him, occurring, as it did, just at the beginning of a new campaign.¹ His health was already somewhat undermined; and the thought that without him his comrades were again measuring swords with France — that without him Marlborough and Peterborough were likely to win additional laurels on many a hard-fought field — fairly broke his heart; and in January, 1707, he was buried in Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin.

An extract from a published letter of his to the Earl of Nottingham, in September, 1702, describing the taking of Venloo, will serve to show that, upon occasion at least, he knew how to be as modest as he was brave. He says: —

"Of my action at Fort St Michael I will say no more than that it was my own contrivance & execution. . . . It was successful, and produced good & quick effects, by occasioning the speedy surrender of Venlo, & making way for farther successes; and it met with general approbation, for the world has made more noise of it than it deserves. I had the honour to command brave men; I had the fortune to take my measures right; and God blessed me with success."

There is a soldierly bluntness about his epistolary style which displays but one side of his character. In his leisure hours Cutts cultivated the Muses, and was a poet of no mean capacity. Besides a poem on the death of the Queen, and

¹ Narcissus Luttrell, in his diary, states that, in May, 1704, Queen Anne made Cutts a present of a thousand guineas, in recognition of his recent exploits; but there is no doubt that his popularity with the army was distasteful to the Jacobite party.

some occasional pieces, he published, in 1687, a little volume entitled "Poetical Exercises," now extremely rare, from which Horace Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," quotes a few extracts, and, in particular, two amatory stanzas, which seem to my old-fashioned taste to be fully as melodious as half of Robert Browning's verses, and they are certainly a good deal more intelligible (whatever Archdeacon Farrar may say to the contrary).

"Only tell her that I love,
 Leave the rest to her and Fate,
 Some kind Planet from above
 May, perhaps, her pity move;
 Lovers on their Stars must wait;
 Only tell her that I love.

"Why, oh why, should I despair,
 Mercy's pictured in her Eye;
 If she once vouchsafe to hear,
 Welcome Hope, and farewell Fear,
 She's too good to let me dye;
 Why, oh why, should I despair!"

The poems in question are preceded by an elaborate dedication to the Princess Mary of Orange, afterwards his sovereign, which contains two passages I think worth citing:—

"A quick, and right Apprehension of Things; a clear & solid Judgment; with a Natural Tendency to all that is Just, and Good, and Charitable; are such inestimable Blessings in a high Station; that You are more beholding to God for being so qualified, than for being born a Princess. When I add to all this, that your Soul is touched with a Spark of that Fire, which warms the Hearts of Angels, and kindles Mortality into Desires that are Immortal, it gives such a double Lustre to all the rest of Your Accomplishments; and invests You with something so Glorious, and Divine, that we can never have Eyes enough to Admire You, or Tongues enough to praise You. . . .

"Justice & Truth are the particular Care of Heaven. They surmount everything; and their Lustre breaks through the thickest Clouds. When any Subtilty, or Force of Argument can perswade men to believe, that the Sun does not Shine; or that the Stars are not bright; then (and not till then) shall the Glory of an Illustrious Life be stifled, and obscur'd." ¹

¹ There are few copies of this book in existence; but, by the kindness of Mr. Moorfield Storey, of the Suffolk bar, I have been permitted to see one which belonged to his father-in-law, the late General Richard D. Cutts, of Washington

Lord Cutts married, first, Dec. 18, 1690, a rich widow, Lady Trevor, sister of Sir George Treby, Attorney General of England, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. She, however, died a few years later; and King William consoled him for the loss of her jointure by the gift of an estate in Sussex, which he sold for eight thousand pounds. He married, secondly, in February, 1696, another lady of fortune, the only daughter of Sir Henry Pickering, Bart., of Whaddon in Cambridgeshire, and who would appear to have survived him; but he left no issue by either marriage, and the collateral branches of his family are extinct.¹ It is interesting, however, to remember that he came of the same original stock with the distinguished American family of that name, long seated at Portsmouth in New England, who descend from Richard Cutt, or Cutts, a member of one of Cromwell's Parliaments, whose son John was, in 1679, commissioned President of the province of New Hampshire. I can find no evidence that the General was personally acquainted with his transatlantic kinsmen; but I have thought it a not unreasonable conjecture that the "cousin Hooke," mentioned in one of the letters, may have been a son of Francis Hooke, of Kittery, or of the Rev. William Hooke, of New Haven, sometime chaplain to Oliver Cromwell.

A portrait of Cutts, taken some years before his elevation to the peerage, by Wissing, the fashionable court-painter who immediately succeeded Sir Peter Lely, was exhibited at South Kensington in 1866. A contemporary print of it, now very scarce, was copied, in 1797, by Richardson, to illustrate Granger's "Biographical History of England;" and this last is occasionally met with in a separate form. There exists, moreover, a still more rare engraving, representing him on his death-bed, in 1707, surrounded by Apollo, Minerva, and Cupid weeping; and I have been disappointed in not obtaining a heliotype of it to accompany these letters. I have been obliged to content myself with furnishing one of a portrait, hitherto little known, of Governor Joseph Dudley, which has always been in possession of the descendants of his daughter Anne, wife of John Winthrop, F.R.S., and which some members

¹ In the interval between these marriages he was, according to Luttrell, currently reported to have been engaged to one of the Queen's maids of honor, a sister of that notorious Lord Mohun, who subsequently killed the Duke of Hamilton in a duel.

may remember to have seen in the country-house of the late President of the Society at Brookline. It is believed to have been painted towards the close of his third residence in England, in 1701, when he was in Parliament, and not long before his final return to this country. The other two authentic likenesses of him are, first, a portrait believed to have been painted in London during his first residence in London, as agent for Massachusetts in 1682-86, which was presented to this Society in 1870 by his lineal descendant, Mr. Henry A. S. Dudley;¹ and, second, a much dilapidated portrait, believed to have been painted during his second visit to England, in 1689-90, and now belonging to Dr. Daniel Dudley Gilbert, of Roxbury, a descendant of Dudley's daughter, Rebecca Sewall. This last was shockingly engraved, in 1856, for the late Mr. Samuel G. Drake's "History of Boston," and the plate has been more recently used to illustrate the late Mr. Francis S. Drake's "History of Roxbury;" a cut of it appears in the "Memorial History of Boston." All three portraits are not without merit as works of art, and, making allowance for the difference in age of the subject, bear a marked resemblance to one another; but Mr. Drake's engraver has unaccountably substituted for a curly periwig the long black locks of an Indian chief, and has successfully endeavored to impart to the naturally grave expression of the Governor an air of fatuous benignity wholly foreign to his character. For more than a century the historians of New England have vied with one another in heaping-obloquy upon the political career and motives of Joseph Dudley; but I fancy his well-balanced mind would have been less disturbed at the prospect of such unreasoning abuse, than by the thought that so feeble and inaccurate a pictorial representation of himself was to be handed down to posterity in the three works of reference which I have mentioned.²

¹ A replica, or perhaps only an ancient copy, of this picture is in possession of our associate, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Cambridge, a great-great-grandson of Dudley's daughter, Mary Atkins.

² In an article in the "Genealogical Register" of October, 1856, Mr. Dean Dudley alludes to the portrait now belonging to this Society (then owned by the widow of Colonel Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury), and also to the Gilbert portrait, which latter he describes as "taken when the Governor was sick." So far as I can gather, this family tradition, of uncertain date, arose from the apparent sallowness of the face, and from a certain suggestion of dressing-gown about the costume.

Of his wife, Rebecca Tyng, there exists, so far as I am aware, but one authentic portrait, the very interesting one belonging to this Society;¹ but, in the course of my inquiries into this subject, I received information that in the family of the late Mr. Dudley Hall, of Medford, were portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dudley, by Sir Peter Lely. As Lely never visited this country, and died before Dudley first went abroad, I was a little incredulous; and on going out to Medford, I found two charming pictures, apparently painted by Smibert, and representing, as I have every reason to believe, Joseph Dudley's son William, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1726 to 1729, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Addington Davenport, — the said Mr. and Mrs. William Dudley having been the great-grandparents of the late Mr. Dudley Hall. It is not to be wondered at that such mistakes continually occur about old family portraits, when we consider how indifferent our wives and children often are to the associations connected with them, and how difficult they generally find it to give an accurate description of them. I am bound to add that a somewhat similar blunder was made long ago concerning the one of Joseph Dudley now at Brookline; for when, in 1860, it came into the possession of its present owner, on the death of a kinsman at New London, he found pasted on the back of it this distich: —

“ Sir Thomas Dudley's a trusty old stud,
A bargain's a bargain & must be made good.”

In other words, the writer of this doggerel on the back of that portrait clearly supposed it to represent, not Governor Joseph, but his father, Governor Thomas Dudley, a likeness of whom would, I need not say, be a great prize, for none is known to exist. The figure, however, is attired in the costume and long, full-bottomed wig of the later Stuart period; and no one at all acquainted with historical portraiture would be willing, for a moment, to accept it as Thomas Dudley, who

After careful examination, however, I believe the sallowness in question to be merely the effect of age and neglect, and the “dressing-gown” looks to me more like a judicial robe. As Dudley was named Chief Justice of New York about that time, he may have had himself so painted. The learned editor of the “Memorial History” has expressed to me his regret that the Drake engraving should have been followed without verification.

¹ Professor Norton possesses a replica, or ancient copy, of this also.

died at a very advanced age in 1653. My conjecture as to the origin of this mistake is, I think, a reasonable one. At Joseph Dudley's death, in 1720, this portrait became the property of his daughter, Mrs. Winthrop, who survived her father more than half a century, and died in 1776 at the great age of ninety-two. This venerable lady had outlived her sons, and the portrait then passed to her eldest grandson, a young man with a number of younger brothers, some one of whom (according to my theory) having always heard the picture spoken of at his grandmother's as Governor Dudley, hastily assumed it to be the more distinguished of the two Governors Dudley, and amused himself by scribbling on it accordingly. Had he been a man of cultivation, he would have undoubtedly preferred to transcribe several of the lines in which Thomas Dudley's daughter, Anne Bradstreet, the first New England poetess, has so quaintly and touchingly commemorated her father; but being, as he probably was, a youngster with a not very refined sense of humor, he preferred the above-mentioned distich, which was by no means original with him, as it has been ascribed to no less authoritative a pen than that of Governor Jonathan Belcher, though in my own judgment it is more likely to be a survival of the doggerel of the colonial period. The correct version begins, not "Sir Thomas," but "Here lies Thomas;" and the writer, relying upon an imperfect memory, managed to confer upon his assumed great-great-grandfather the honor of knighthood. For the benefit of those who may not have found leisure to devote much attention to the domestic history of Puritan times, it is as well to explain, by way of parenthesis, that the reason why this irreverent, not to say flippant, expression, "trusty old stud," was applied to so eminent and austere a magistrate as Thomas Dudley, is to be found in the fact that no less than three of the children of his second marriage were born after he had entered upon his seventieth year.

I will only add, in conclusion, that I can find no trace of the numerous confidential letters which Cutts must have received from his Lieutenant-Governor during their eight years of official association, and which his Lordship perhaps destroyed. The Winthrop Papers include many of Dudley's domestic letters, and among them several written by him from the Isle of Wight to his wife in New England; but they

contain not the remotest reference to public affairs, and consist, for the most part, of slightly monotonous expressions of conjugal endearment, intermingled with reiterated and edifying assurances that the consolations of religion alone sustained him during so protracted an absence from his family.¹

¹ A still further illustration of the untrustworthiness of family traditions is supplied by the fact that there was long ago presented to the Cabinet of this Society a quaint bit of provincial furniture, purporting to be the "Cradle of Governor Joseph Dudley." It has recently been noticed, however, that the rows of antique brass nails which ornament it, and which are evidently coeval with the woodwork, are so disposed on top as to form the distinct date "1730," which is eighty-three years after the Governor first became a candidate for a cradle, and about the time that several of his grandchildren were in need of one.





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